COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" The consequence has been war. War actually begun. A fourth coalition against France in good earnest " entered upon; and, in all appearance, with as much probability of success as the last. Some of the " newspapers assure their readers that the Prussians have retreated merely for the purpose of leading the " French into a snare! But, surely, when those readers recollect, as they certainly must, that this same " reason, by these same writers, was given for every retreat of the Austrians and Russians from the banks " of the Schwartz, they will not again be the dupes of these deluding or deluded men! " Into a snare!" " Good God! Was it a snare that Napoleon fell into at Vienna? Was it a snare that he found in the " conquered capital and kingdoms of his antagonist? And, is there another snare awaiting him at " Berlin? Is the Duke of Brunswick, not less renowned than his Royal Nephew, really preparing a snare " for Napoleon? No: let us not rest our hopes upon such a baseless foundation. Let us look for success " in advances, and not in retreats."——POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. 10, p. 644.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE WRANGLING FACTIONS.——In the last number of the foregoing Volume, I had occasion to notice the *alarm*, which the writers of the no-popery faction are endeavouring to excite with respect to what they call " the Senate at Willis's," against which, they say, the *people* ought to unite with " His Majesty's confidential servants;" an union, however, which I am much disposed to think they will not see take place.—— These attacks upon the *aristocracy* are curious enough. They present us something new in the tricks of faction. The cry of " Jacobin and Leveller," was the order of the day only a month ago; and, what the poor hirelings could do with " the Senate at Willis's" and the Dinner of Sir Francis Burdett, at one and the same time, I was quite at a loss to guess. If the *aristocracy* were assembled in senate at Willis's, it will surely be allowed, that the *people* were assembled round Sir Francis Burdett, and yet the no-popery hirelings assail them both at once; they represent both as enemies to *the country*, so that, by the country, we are to understand these writers to mean, the ministry and their dependents, and, a little more widely, all those who, in any way, live upon the taxes of the country. This is what they mean by the *country*. ——We will now hear the language of the Courier, of the 23d and 24th of last month, upon the subject of the Aristocratical Senate; and, I must particularly request the reader to mark the anxiousness which is discovered to enlist the people upon the side of the no-popery faction.——" The debate in the Senate at " Willis's will regularly precede the debate " in the Senate at Westminster, just *as the* " *Jacobin Club at Paris discussed and de-* " *cided upon measures before they were* " *brought before the National Convention.* " ——We have said that the Stewards, with " some eight or nine exceptions, are all ei- " ther peers, or connected with the peerage. " They are the authors and directors of the " meeting. Peers then are to discuss, and " as far as lies in their power, to influence " the opinions of those of the meeting who " are members of the house of commons; " and thus this most *unconstitutional sight* " will be presented to the British nation, of " *a portion of* THEIR REPRESENTA- " TIVES *receiving an impression and im-* " *pulse from an aristocratic self-constituted* " *senate*, before they appear in the senate " chosen according to the principles of the " constitution.——We have heard of a " strong wish expressed to revive the Rock- " ingham Club, and it has been said that a " speech was made at Lord Milton's dinner, " in which the honour of being a member " of parliament was declared to be a minor " honour to that of being a member of the " Rockingham Club. Should such a senti- " ment become popular, Clubs would of " course be more regarded than the consti- " tutional Assembly of the Nation, and " would thus eventually have in this coun- " try the same influence over that Assembly " *as the Clubs in France had over the dif-* " *ferent National Conventions that were* " *elected during the Revolution.*——At pre- " sent this political meeting at Willis's, " counselled, contrived, and to be held un- " der the sanction principally of peers, must " appear to the country to be an attempt on " the part of the Aristocracy to acquire such " a permanent interest and influence, as to " enable it to influence both King and THE " PEOPLE. The influence of great fami- " lies is to be greater than the influence of " the Crown and of the Commons. The " Aristocracy is to have more weight and " consideration than the Monarchy and the " DEMOCRACY. The Union of the Ba- " rons in the reign of King John, might be

" necessary to procure for us the great Char-
" ter, but it is *perfectly unnecessary under*
" *the mild and constitutional reign of the*
" *House of Brunswick.* Let the King look
" to this: let the heir apparent, whose
" sanction of this aristocratic assembly has
" been attempted to be obtained: let THE
" PEOPLE look to this."——The people *do* look at this; and no-popery deceives herself most egregiously, if she supposes, that the people are to be thus cajoled. But, let us, before we make any further remarks, proceed to the other extract from the Courier.——" We beg our readers to mark well
" these expressions (expressions" in the
" Morning Chronicle).—" Here is an open
" avowal of the intention of the Aristocracy
" to combine—For what objects? *To se-*
" *cure our liberties?* WHO THREATENS
" THEM? Does the King? The Aristocra-
" cy refer to the conduct of the Whig
" Aristocracy in critical moments. It com-
" bined, we know, to secure the Protestant
" Establishment, which was threatened by
" James II. But do they mean to insinuate
" that that establishment is in any danger
" under George III.? Or that this is one of
" those critical moments that requires this
" menacing union of the Aristocracy of the
" realm? Do these great families mean, by
" this display of their power or their wealth,
" to awe the Crown, the Ministers, and
" THE PEOPLE? If so, let THE
" CROWN and THE PEOPLE *combine*
" and defeat the Aristocracy as they defeat-
" ed and drove from power the late incapa-
" ble ministry. The language of the Aris-
" tocracy is, " Who are the present minis-
" ters? What great families do they belong
" to? What great families support them?
" What property can they command?" But
" *what is that to* THE PEOPLE? Till *wis-*
" *dom and patriotism be necessarily inherent*
" *in great families*, THE PEOPLE will not
" enquire *what families ministers belong*
" *to*, but what measures they adopt for the
" benefit of the country; what is their con-
" duct, *not what is their origin.* But it does
" not suit this aristocratic combination to
" try ministers by their measures; these
" guardians of our liberties are unwilling to
" extend to them the benefit of a fair trial,
" but are anxious to have them condemned,
" merely because they are accused. *This*
" *too was one of the features of those clubs*
" *that overawed and controuled the French*
" *Convention.* Of this combination of great
" families, a combination resorted to at such
" a moment, and in such a manner, *we do*
" *entertain considerable apprehensions.* THE
" PEOPLE will do well to watch it; for *if*
" *our liberties be in any danger*, they are
" more in danger from the Aristocracy than
" from the Monarchy and the DEMO-
" CRACY."——What do you say to this, John Bowles? What do you say to this, coming, as it does, from one of your fellow-labourers? But, to proceed in due order, it is impossible not to be struck with the attempt, made by these writers, upon all occasions, to inculcate an opinion, that those who discover discontent at the manner in which the affairs of the nation are managed, act upon the same principles as the most violent and sanguinary of the French revolutionists acted. It was only a short month ago, that they cried out against Sir Francis Burdett and his friends, including a large majority of the people of Westminster (a fair sample of all the independent people in England), as imitating the clubbing revolutionists of France. " It was thus," said they, " that the French revolution began,
" that revolution which ended in the de-
" struction of an *ancient and venerable aris-*
" *tocracy*, and in the murder of a virtuous
" and amiable royal family."——" What!" exclaimed the Courier, in commenting upon Sir Francis Burdett's address, " What! he
" would tear out the accursed leaves of the
" Red-Book! Of course, he would tear out
" the *ancient and beloved aristocracy of*
" *this realm*, and, before that, the still more
" beloved monarch, who is at once the head
" and ornament of that illustrious body." But now, behold, when some party apprehensions are entertained as to the power and designs of that body, the people, that is to say, " the Jacobins and Levellers," are called upon to watch its motions with suspicion; nay, to combine against it, lest it should produce a bloody revolution! I do hope, that, after this impudent trick, this at once dirty and daring attempt to cajole the people, that no man of common sense will be found weak enough still to listen to alarms referring to the French revolution. For these fourteen years last past such alarms have, from time to time, been played off upon the nation, and that, too, with woeful and disgraceful success. To these alarms, artfully excited and kept up, this country owes almost the whole of her present difficulties; for, had it not been for the fear that men entertained of an overthrow of all order and law and religion, Pitt never could so long have held that power, by the exercise of which he entailed such a train of curses upon us. " Let THE PEOPLE look
" to this." Let them take care not to be again alarmed into an approbation of a seven years' suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, or

personal security act. Let them take special care not to be persuaded, that the only way to have their liberties secured is to have them taken away from them. Let them well reflect upon the conduct of the hirelings, and they will clearly perceive, that every attempt to excite an alarm by comparisons drawn from the French revolution, is an attempt to deceive the well-meaning and shallow-thinking part of the people, and to provide, thereby, impunity for public robbery.——From the apprehensions, which are expressed by this writer at the intention, which he ascribes to the aristocratical senate, of *influencing members of the House of Commons*, one would think that he had been alive some hundred years ago, and that he had just now awaked from a dreadfully long trance; for, otherwise, how could it enter into his mind, that, as the House of Commons is now returned, the aristocracy could possibly, by the means of a senate at Willis's, by the means of empty toasts and still more empty speeches, obtain any *new* influence over the members of the House of Commons? Supposing him to have lived in our day; supposing him to have read the advertisements, in his own paper, for the sale and purchase of seats; and supposing him not to have totally forgotten the "Hog-or-a-"Horse" article written by himself, and inserted in the preceding volume, at page 987; supposing all this, what a stock of assurance must he have now to feign an alarm at the possible influence that peers may acquire over the members of the other House?—— This writer's contempt for *birth*, his sarcasms upon *hereditary wisdom and virtue*, suit his purpose very well, upon this occasion; but, is he, or his faction, willing to pursue the idea to its natural and inevitable result? Is he willing to retract all his "Jack-Cade" charges against *me*, all his imputations of treasonable designs to be effected by the degradation of birth and dignity, because I republished from his own columns, and commented upon, the account of a festival said to have been given to Nell Jobson and her last litter? Is he, and is nopopery, willing to go this length? Are they willing to rank *all* men according to their *wisdom and virtues?* If not, why expect us to overlook the origin of the several members of the new ministry? Why are we to make, in this respect, an exception in their favour? "*Who* are the present ministers? What "great families do they belong to? What "great families support them? What property can they command? But, what is "all this to THE PEOPLE? Till *wisdom* "*and virtue* be necessarily inherent in great "families, THE PEOPLE will not inquire "what families ministers belong to, but "what measures they adopt for the *benefit* "*of the country*: what is their conduct, and "not what is their *origin*." Very true. These will be the inquiries of the people; but, no popery is much deceived, if she hopes, by this flattery of intrinsic merit, to cajole the people into a belief, that she is the patroness of that merit, and that, therefore, they ought to range themselves upon her side. It is true, that the people will inquire, what is the conduct of the ministers, and not what is their origin; but, if they should find, that that conduct is bad, if they should find them repealing or suspending the personal security act, or attempting other measures of that complexion, their origin will have some weight; for, until the mind of man be organized entirely anew, until he looks with equal respect upon all his fellow creatures even down to the very oyster, his impatience under oppressive power will bear some proportion to the origin of those by whom it is exercised; and, abstract as long as you will, still, of the high-born or the upstart oppressor, the latter will be the most hated. Nor is this propensity of the human mind without its solid reasons; for, in the first place, there is a degree of fellow-feeling, arising from a remembrance of the past, to be expected from the low-born ruler, which is not to be expected from one who has always been accustomed to rule; and, when a man, raised from low-life, becomes an oppressor, or discovers his imbecillity as to great concerns, there always arises a presumption, *that he has risen by base and fraudulent means*, which presumption does not so naturally arise in the case of a tyrant or an incapable person, born to wealth or title. Nor, again, does this way of thinking operate unjustly; for, if the low-born man be exposed to greater hatred in the case of misconduct, he is, in the opposite case, sure to receive praise in the same degree. Indeed, to carry the idea a little further, it is *impossible*, that the man born to wealth or title, can be rewarded so largely as the man born in low life. To the latter the whole height, whether of riches or of honours, is open; whereas, to the former, there remains only the top. So that, when a man, born in low life, and raised to great riches or power, abuses his trust, he is exposed, and justly, to be reminded of his origin and to be treated as an upstart ——To return, for a moment, to the Courier, I would ask him, what description of persons he has now left unaccused of disaffection to "his Majesty's Go-"vernment?" The people, the public, all

that part of the community which do not belong to the nobility, and which are not dependent upon the government, he has accused long ago; and now he has accused the aristocracy of the same offence. He has, indeed, slackened his battery a little against the people, with the hope, apparently, of engaging them on his side until he has overcome the others. The truth is, that he and his faction wish to make use of the people first to destroy their titled opponents, and then they wish to destroy the people. I mean politically; for, it would by no means suit their purpose to put any of the people out of existence, because the people's labour is the source of all their emoluments.—— These efforts are, however, vain. The people may, by both factions, be called upon for an union; but they will unite with neither. They know well, that neither is their friend; and as to the pretence, that the *king* stands in need of the aid of the people against the nobility, it is a trick scarcely surpassed by that of "no-popery."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——This parliament, in order to distinguish it from the last, or *short parliament*, which sat in the same year, and even in the same half year, will require some particular denomination, and, I think, it may be properly enough called the *Dog-Day Parliament*, whether in reference to the time of its assembling to proceed to business, or in reference to the warmth and other qualities, which have been manifested in the debates.——The subjects which I find, in the newspaper reports of the speeches, worthy of particular attention, as far as I shall be able to proceed in my comments this week, are, I. *The Address in answer to the opening Speech;* II. *The appointment of the Finance Committee.* III. *Sir Henry Mildmay.* IV. *India Affairs.* V. *Sierra Leone.* VI. *Jobs in general and in particular.*——I. The Speech having been inserted in the preceding sheet (page 31), it will be easily referred to without a repetition of it. *An Amendment* was, of course, proposed by the OUTS, which amendment was as follows, and it was, of course, opposed by the INS.——"That by "a long experience of his Majesty's virtues "we well know it to be his Majesty's invariable wish that all his prerogatives should "be exercised solely for the advantage of "his people. That our dutiful attachment "to his Majesty's person and government "obliges us therefore most humbly to lay "before him the manifest misconduct of "his ministers in having advised the dissolution of the late parliament in the midst "of its first session, and within a few "months after his Majesty had been pleased "to assemble it for the dispatch of the urgent business of the nation.——That this "measure advised by his Majesty's ministers at a time when there existed no difference between any of the branches of "the legislature, and no sufficient cause for "a fresh appeal to his Majesty's people, was "justified by no public necessity or advantage. That by the interruption of all "private business then depending in parliament, it has been productive of great and "needless inconvenience and expence, "thereby wantonly adding to the heavy "burdens which the necessities of the times "require. That it has retarded many useful laws for the internal improvement of "the kingdom, and for the encouragement "and extension of its agriculture, manufactures and commerce. And that it has "either suspended or wholly defeated many "most important public measures, and has "protracted much of the most weighty business of parliament to a season of the "year when its prosecution must be attended with the greatest public and private "inconvenience. And that we feel ourselves bound still farther to submit to his "Majesty, that all these mischiefs, are "greatly aggravated by the groundless and "injurious pretences on which his Majesty's ministers have publicly rested this "their evil advice; pretences affording no "justification for the measure, but calculated only to excite the most dangerous "animosities among his Majesty's subjects, "at a period when their united efforts were "more than ever necessary for the security "of the empire; and when to promote the "utmost harmony and co-operation amongst "them would have been the first object of "wise and prudent ministers."--That all those who spoke for the amendment took occasion to attack the *ins* need hardly be observed, and that those who spoke on the other side attacked the *outs* is full as well known. The main subject was, the measure of *dissolving the short parliament*, which subject had, in all its parts and bearings, been long before discussed in the newspapers, and with much greater ability than is discovered in the printed report of this debate, where I find nothing either eloquent, ingenious, or novel. The *outs* do, indeed, appear to have laboured hard to show, that the dissolution had done great mischief by the delay in passing private bills, by the leaving of revenue laws to expire, and especially by causing to be introduced an *unconstitutional* mode of applying the public money, that is to say, of laying it out without the consent of parliament,

which consent, previously obtained, is the vital part of our happy constitution, because the *people* thus give their consent by the mouths of their *representatives!* Gravity upon a subject like this is not only necessary in point of decorum, but is strictly enjoined by the constitution. But, as to the subject itself, it must have afforded great and peculiar satisfaction to my Lord Howick, who seemed to be the most alarmed at the mischiefs arising from the dissolution, to find, that Mr. Perceval and his colleagues were able to get over all the difficulties which he conceived to exist, and that, too, with only one *bill of indemnity*, only one law to say that that which had been done unlawfully should not be punished! This is, I take it, what is meant by *ministerial responsibility*; that, when the ministers have done any thing in violation of the law, they shall come to the parliament, and there ask to have a law passed to free them from all the penalties attached to such violation; and, when *they* ask, what danger there is of being refused I leave the reader to judge. Thus, in the case of Pitt. He lent, without interest, forty thousand pounds of the public money to Boyd and Benfield, two members of the then parliament. He took this sum from the money issued from the Exchequer for naval purposes. He had no consent of parliament. He had never communicated the matter even to his colleagues in office. Made no record or minute of the transaction. Boyd and Benfield wanted the money to make good an instalment upon a *loan*, which they had made *to the public*, and upon which they received an interest and a bonus. So that, they lent the public its own forty thousand pounds, and the public paid them interest for so doing. Well, all this, several years afterwards, is found out; and I, for my part, was fool enough to expect to see the minister punished. I was looking for responsibility such as we, in private life, are subject to, especially as I had so often heard it said, that *our security* depended upon the responsibility of ministers. But, what was the result? The House of Commons, "the guardians of the public purse," had all the proofs before them. Yet, instead of punishing, or impeaching, the minister, they brought in, and passed, a law to *indemnify* him for what he had done. Nay, this minister died soon afterwards, and that same House of Commons, with those proofs still before them, voted, by a large majority, that a monument, *at the public expence*, should be erected in honour of him. Nor was this all; for, it appearing that he died in debt (to his political friends principally), that same House of Commons, those same "guardians of the public purse," by an unanimous vote, made us pay forty thousand pounds for the purpose of discharging that debt.——So much for *ministerial responsibility*; and here I should dismiss the debate upon the Speech were there not a passage or two in the speeches of the debators; which I think calculated to afford matter for a little reflection, unconnected with the views either of the *ins* or the *outs*.—— The address, in answer to the Speech, which was, as usual, an echo to the Speech, was moved by two men, of whom I, living in this obscurity, never before heard, and, of whom I shall, in all human probability, never hear again. The first of them is reported, in the newspapers, to have spoken, in one part of his speech, in these words:——

"It is unnecessary for me, sir, to enter at "length into the circumstances which led "to the dissolution of the last parliament, "as those circumstances have repeatedly "been discussed in this house, and are now "become the subject of public notoriety. I "am the more disposed to avoid any such "discussion, as it must necessarily involve "points on which I am aware there is a "great difference of opinion. His Majesty "has, *in his wisdom*, thought it expedient "to avail himself of the only constitutional "mode of collecting *the sense of his people*, "by dissolving the late parliament, and by "calling that which is now convened. By "this measure, this house *is now become* "*the organ of expressing* THE PUBLIC "OPINION; and I trust we shall, if not "by our unanimous vote this night, at least "by a considerable majority, prove, not "only our affectionate attachment to his "majesty's person and government, but al-"so to those sound constitutional principles, "expressed, as they have been, in the ma-"ny *loyal and dutiful* ADDRESSES pre-"sented at the foot of the Throne The "*country*, sir, has, beyond all question, "shewn its determination to support his "majesty in the exercise of the rightful pre-"rogatives of the crown, and in his efforts "to withstand every unconstitutional inno-"vation."——Now, we will not waste our time in battering again over the old subject, the prerogatives of the crown; nor will I repeat what I have before said, and *proved*, about the House of Commons being the "*organ of public opinion*." Upon the subject of the "many *loyal* and *dutiful* ADDRESSES," too, I shall not indulge myself in any comments; but, shall think it quite sufficient to quote one of those dutiful and loyal addresses from the London Gazette

(the writer of which is paid out of the public money), and, after it, the proof that the said address *never was sent or drawn up by the persons, to whom it is ascribed!!*

" London Gazette, June 6, 1807, page " 762. The following Address having been " transmitted to the Right Hon. Lord " Hawkesbury, his Majesty's Principal Se- " cretary of State for the Home Depart- " ment, has been by his Lordship present- " ed to the King; which Address his Ma- " jesty was pleased to receive very gracious- " ly:——To the King's Most Excellent " Majesty, The humble Address of the Pro- " vost, Fellows, and Scholars of the Holy " and Undivided Trinity of Queen Eliza- " beth, near Dublin.——May it please " your Majesty, We, your Majesty's most " dutiful and loyal subjects, the provost, " fellows, and scholars of the College of the " Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen " Elizabeth, near Dublin, feel ourselves " called on at the present juncture, humbly " to approach your Majesty, in order to tes- " tify our unalterable attachment to your " Majesty's person and government, and " the heartfelt gratitude which we must " ever entertain for that unceasing kind- " ness and truly parental solicitude with " which your Majesty has uniformly ho- " noured our University.—— Instituted, " preserved, and endowed as that Univer- " sity has been, for the purpose of defend- " ing the truth, and extending the influence " of the Protestant religion, we cannot have " observed without the most unfeigned ad- " miration, the unremitting vigilance and " unshaken firmness with which your Ma- " jesty has perpetually maintained the same " sacred cause, and the strict conscientious- " ness with which your Majesty has fulfil- " ed the solemn obligation by which you " were bound, " to maintain and preserve " inviolably the settlement of the church of " England, and the doctrine, worship, and " discipline thereof, as by law established;" " while with that spirit of toleration which " genuine christianity so strongly inculcates, " your Majesty (aided by the other branch- " es of the legislature) has gradually removed " all oppressive restraints which could im- " pede the freedom of religious opinions, and " has secured to such of our fellow-subjects " as dissent from the established church, the " full enjoyment of liberty and property, " with the unrestrained exercise of their pe- " culiar religious worship, and full power to " educate their children in their own reli- " gious opinion. Impressed with those " sentiments, we humbly beg leave to ex- " press our deep regret that any circumstan- " ces, arising from the difference of reli- " gious persuasions amongst our fellow " subjects, should have contributed (parti- " cularly at the present crisis of public af- " fairs) to embarrass, in any degree, your " Majesty's government; but we look with " full confidence to your Majesty's long " tried wisdom, firmness, and moderation, " guided by the Divine Providence, for a " happy final result; and we are convinced " that your Majesty's measures, dictated by " such principles, must ultimately unite all " descriptions of your Majesty's subjects, in " support of your crown, attachment to your " person, and in a vigorous and successful " defence of these invaluable blessings " which, under your Majesty's parental go- " vernment, they all so pre-eminently en- " joy." [Transmitted by the Lord Lieu- tenant of Ireland.]——Now for the contra- diction. " London Gazette, June 23. Er- " ratum in the Gazette of the 6th of June, " page 762. An Address entitled " The " humble Address of the Provost, Fellows, " and Scholars of the Holy and Undivided " Trinity near Dublin," was inserted by " mistake, *no Address having been presented* " *to his Majesty from that Body!!!*"—— It is hardly worth our while to enquire *how* this *error* could possibly happen; how it is possible, that the Address should have been, not *inserted*, for an error there is easy enough to be accounted for when it was once in the printer's hands, but how it could have been *written*, unless there be some persons *in London*, who are in the habit of writing addresses for their friends in the country. Oh, the rich exposure! The excellent discovery! Not that it is any discovery to some persons; but, it is one of those things, which serve to shut the mouths of those fools and knaves, who are still the advocates of delusion and corruption; and with this I leave no-popery to congratulate herself upon the " many dutiful and loyal " Addresses." The person who seconded the address to the king, and whose name appears to have been *Hall*, is reported to have spoken thus:——" His majesty has " since had recourse to the abilities of those, " who had been intimately connected with " *that great Statesman*, whom he could not " but consider as the *only pilot to other* " *ministers*; that man who amidst all the " dangers by which he was surrounded, " rose in firmness in proportion to the exi- " gencies of the times, and left that consti- " tution which he loved and protected *un-* " *impaired by the attacks of either foreign* " *or domestic foes.* To those who long " *fought under his banners*, the country " must now look for direction. They had " advised his majesty to refer to the general

" sense of the people, in order that they " might present themselves to the enemy as " possessing the confidence of a brave nation and to the Allies of Great Britain, as " ready to afford them the necessary support. *By the promptitude* of their measures they had already shewn themselves " adequate to the duty in which they had " been engaged. By such measures alone " could effect be given to any negotiation " which might lead to a successful termination of the present contest. Yet notwithstanding all that he asserted, the dissolution of the last parliament had been attributed to the earnest desire of his majesty's " ministers, to smother the labours of the " Committee of Finance; but his Majesty's " Speech *proved* that they were as much " interested in the continuance of that committee, as the gentlemen opposite. So " far from wishing to smother it, they advised his majesty to applaud the institution of it by the last parliament, *and to recommend that it should be renewed by the present.* Under all these circumstances, he was not bigotted enough to " expect that this Address would be unanimously acceded to; but he called on the " gentlemen opposite who had quitted the " helm of state, *to feel for the situation of the country.* The *people* were duly sensible of the justice of the cause in which " the country were engaged, and he had " no doubt that they would *cheerfully submit to the sacrifices* that would be " necessary for the prosecution. He trusted their efforts might be effectually directed to secure *the advantages which we already possessed, and to enable us successfully to oppose that system of aggression which threatened the downfal of every independent state in Europe.* In " this object all parties were equally interested. Our country was at stake; and " he trusted that but one opinion could " exist with regard to the *exertions necessary* for its defence."——But one opinion, certainly, as to the necessity of *exertions;* but, more than one, and even two opinions, as to what those exertions are, which are necessary. The people have but little notion of the *cause,* as Mr. Hall calls it, " in which we are engaged;" but they have a quite clear notion of the effects, which, according to the present system, it has upon them. Mr. Hall has no doubt that they will chearfully submit to *sacrifices* for carrying on the war; and, indeed, when we consider what those atrocious villains the French would do to us; that they would raise contributions upon us till we had hardly a shirt left to our backs; that they would leave us no earthly thing that we could call our own; that, if we murmured and dared to speak the truth of them, they would imprison us, or, very likely, clip off our ears or split our noses; that they would waste our earnings upon their profligate chiefs of one sort or another; that they would, at the very same time, tell us to think ourselves the most happy and free nation upon earth; and, if, unable to bear, in silence, this accumulation of injury and of insult, we were to act or even look as though we were discontented, they would bring their armed ruffians (from any country, no matter where) to keep us in awe, to disgust us with their beastly manners, to corrupt the rising generation and to bastardize the next. Very true, Mr. Hall, if there be an Englishman, who would not make sacrifices, including that of life, if necessary, to avoid disgrace like this, his name ought to be held in infamy by his children and his children's children. But, alas! Mr. Hall, when you were expressing so much approbation of the *promptitude,* with which the present ministers had proceeded in the great work of delivering Europe from the effects of that " system of " aggression, which threatened the down" fall of every independent state of Eu" rope;" when you were, apparently, exhausting yourself in extacies at the delightful prospect of seeing " our brave allies" rescued from all danger and led triumphantly to Paris under the direction of Mr. Canning and Lord Hawkesbury, little did you dream that these allies were, at that moment, making an armistice with the agressor in chief! Many persons had, indeed, foreseen and foretold this, amongst whom I was so " gloomy" as to be one; but, that was nothing to you. Your opinion, your view of things was quite of another complexion; and, though your judgment and information may differ from mine, I almost envy you your happy state of mind.——The praise of Pitt, especially as connected with that of the present ministers as undertakers of expeditions, was strikingly appropriate. They do, indeed, seem to regard him as their " pilot" in every thing; whether in appointing committees of inquiry, or in sending armies forth to war; and I dare say, Mr. Hall must be happy in anticipating, that their endeavours will be attended with the same glorious results, which usually attended his.——" Feel," aye, Sir, to be sure, " the gentlemen opposite feel for " the situation of their country." They have felt the country to be a most excellent

thing; and to suppose that they would not feel for it would be to suspect them of being of a disposition unnatural indeed. I dare say the gentlemen on *both sides* have a perfect fellow-feeling upon this score; and, though they may differ as to certain little points touching the manner of acting, and, sometimes, touching the persons who are to act; yet, upon the great fundamental principles of action, be assured, Mr. Hall, that they are perfectly agreed; and, what is of great advantage, the people now want nothing to convince them of the fact. The people, Sir, who now clearly perceive the *real* situation of the country, have an equal regard for "the gentlemen opposite" and the gentlemen upon the Treasury bench; and, whenever an occasion offers for them to express that regard in words and in a manner suitable to their feeling as well as to the respective merits of the objects regarded, you may rest satisfied that they will be as unanimous as your heart can wish.—— Leaving Mr. Hall to the enjoyment of those sweet reflections which conduct like his must produce, and which the state of things is so well calculated to prolong in his mind, I shall now briefly record the issue of the debate. The Honourable House divided, as it is called, at *six o'clock* in the morning (for they care not for sleep, *a nights*, when the good of their country is in question), when there appeared for the amendment 155; against it, 350; leaving a majority, in favour of the *ins* of 195. What a striking proof is here of the utility of "appealing to the *sense of the people!*" Only two months before this appeal was made, the *ins* could muster, upon a day of the greatest trial, but 55 votes. They have now 350, there being to be noticed, with regard to personal considerations, merely the trifling circumstance that the *ins* were then *outs!* ——In the House of Lords, where the hereditary wisdom and honour of the nation are seated, the debate was nearly the same as in the House of Commons, and nearly the same was the result; for, upon a division, which took place at four o'clock in the morning, the votes for the amendment (precisely the same as that in the House of Commons) were 67; against it 160; leaving, on the side of the ministry, a majority of 93.——In "congratulating my country," as the Morning Post does, upon this "glorious triumph," I wish, with all my heart, I could with the editor of that paper, perceive how it will tend to "appal the tyrant of Europe." This, for my life, I cannot perceive, though it may be very evident to a person living in London. On the contrary, it appears to me, that our *divisions*, of all sorts, are likely to please the Emperor of France. The Morning Post does, indeed, give his reasons. He says, that the Emperor will, from these votes, "see, that the present efficient ministry are cordially supported by the whole of the PEOPLE of this vast empire." But, my fear is, that he will see no such thing; that, owing to some fool or other that he will have about him, he will retain his old opinion of us, and will pay no more attention to these profound reasonings of the Morning Post, than the people of Westminster, on the 29th of June, paid to the words, "*down with the Morning Post!*" which poor shoe-less wretches had, by the friends of that paper, been hired, at three shillings a day, to chalk against the walls and watch-boxes.——II. FINANCE COMMITTEE.——On the 1st of this month a motion was made in the House of Commons, to revive this Committee, of which so much has, at different times, been said. The *outs* wished to have all the members, who were upon the former committee, upon this committee also; but the *ins* knew better! Faith, did they; and, as a majority of the House was with the *ins*, the *ins* took very good care to have a committee very different from the last. According to the report in the newspapers, the Committee, as it now stands, is composed as follows:

Mr. Bankes,	Mr. H. Thornton,
Mr. Biddulph,	Mr. W. Cavendish,
Mr. Leycester,	Mr. Alderman Combe,
Mr. Alderman Shaw,	Mr. N. Calvert,
Lord H. Petty,	Mr. T. Baring,
Mr. H. Browne,	Mr. Brogden,
Mr Grattan,	Mr. Holme Sumner,
Mr. Joddrel,	Mr. P. Carew,
Mr. H. Addington,	Mr. Rutherford
Mr Leslie Foster,	Mr. Ryder,
Lord A Hamilton,	Mr. Ellison.

By a reference to vol. 11., p. 1125, the reader will perceive what alterations have been made; he will perceive the extent of the new-modelling. Reader, do you not see, that Mr. *Leycester*, the Welsh Judge, is upon this committee? Do you know him? Do you recollect any thing about him? If you do, I am sure it is quite needless for me to tell you to be satisfied; for satisfied, upon this subject, you certainly will be.——The observations, which constitute the greater part of this debate, will be noticed under the head of *Jobs*, to which they properly belong; but, I must just insert Mr. Perceval's closing speech, first reminding the reader of what our friend, Mr. Hall, said upon the Speech, as connected with this matter; namely, "that the *gentlemen* opposite had "asserted, that the object of the dissolution "was to smother the labours of the Finance

" Committee; but His Majesty's Speech " *proved*, that the present ministers were as " anxious for the *continuance* of the com- " mittee as the gentlemen opposite." I thought our friend, Mr. Hall, was a little hasty in talking of *proof*. To have *continued* the Committee, the very same persons, as nearly as possible, should have been put upon it.—— But, let us hear Mr. Perceval. He said, " that the accusations of " *partiality* in the nomination of the propo- " sed committee he retorted upon the gen- " tlemen on the other side by stating, that, " in the names he proposed, there were a " *considerable proportion of* THEIR " FRIENDS, while it was to be recollect- " ed that in a former committee there were " only two gentlemen who were understood " to have *any attachment to the party with* " *which he had the honour to act.*"——Why really, from this, one would almost imagine, that " the gentlemen on this side" and the " gentlemen opposite" were, some- how or other, parties deeply concerned in the inquiries of this Committee, instead of being all members of the House of Com- mons, *guardians of the public purse*, equal- ly anxious to bring abuses to light. It would almost seem, that the *ins* and the *outs* were litigating persons, choosing arbitrators. I say, it would almost seem so from this re- port of the debate; but, to suppose it to be so would be absurd; because we know how anxious both parties are to see substan- tial justice done to the country. We know their hatred of peculators and jobbers; and, though they did very widely differ upon this appointment, we must suppose, that, on each side, they were anxious to have the ho- nour of dragging scoundrels of public rob- bers into day. " You had *your friends* be- " fore, we will have *our friends* now." As if he had said, your friends had all the ho- nour before, ours ought now to have their turn. They, too, patriotic and zealous men, ought to have their share in the glory of put- ting down these public thieves. This is the sense in which we must understand the thing and then all goes right.——During the debate, Mr. Biddulph proposed, that the name of Sir Francis Burdett should be put upon the list, upon which Lord Howick (late *Mr. Grey* of parliamentary-reform me- mory) is reported to have said " that, al- " though he could assure the house there " was no *gentleman on the other side* more " adverse to the general conduct of *that* " *person* than he was—although no man " was more the subject of *that person's* at- " tack and that of the party, *if such they* " *could be called*, who had acted with him, " still he would advise the adoption of the " hon. gentleman's suggestion. It would " be recollected by any person acquainted " with the history of the times—that not- " withstanding the attempts always made, " said the noble lord, to *connect us* with " *this person's* party, there was no party in " the country more obnoxious to them than " that with which I have the honour to act. " This gentleman, it will be observed, " stands forward as the enemy of public " abuses, and I would recommend minis- " ters to keep a vacancy open for him in " this Committee. There he will have an " opportunity of inquiring into the abuses " of which he complains, and proposing " the remedy in a much *more proper way* " *than he has heretofore done*, or attempted " to do. I should therefore wish to have " him afforded the opportunity, although " I happen to be so obnoxious to his at- " tacks, probably not so much from the " impulse of his own mind, as in con- " sequence of the incitement of others." ——My lord, my good lord Howick, dis- miss your fears; for, there is not one sane man in the nation, who connects you with Sir Francis Burdett. When I saw one half of your lordship's face, at a window in Curzon Street, looking at Sir Francis Bur- dett's car, on the 29th of June, if any one had told me, that *the Member for Appleby's* name, as to political views, was connected with that of Sir Francis, I should have been almost tempted to imitate the members of the American Congress, and spit in his face. Connect Sir Francis Burdett with you and yours! Why, the very thought moves one's feet into the attitude of trampling upon the wretch who should have the audacity to do it. No, my lord; hush your apprehen- sions; for, be assured, that your name, except by way of contrast, will never be mentioned with that of Sir Francis Burdett. ——With respect to the rejection of Sir Francis by the House, the thing was quite natural. It was what the people would, in such a case, expect. Had he not been re- jected, I should have been exceedingly mor- tified; because it would have led me to fear, that all was not right.——Nor does Sir Francis want any opportunity of inquiring into the abuses, of which he complains. There is no need of it at all. What *he* complains of he has proof in divers docu- ments, to which he can easily refer. Be- sides, my lord, what need is there of being upon a committee to come at the knowledge of what you and " the gentlemen on the " other side" have been telling him for this fortnight past? You have obligingly informed

the people of all they wanted to know. The slaves of the press seem dreadfully alarmed, lest the people should know too much; but their alarm and precaution, as well as those of others, come a little too late; and their grave admonitions put one in mind of the old simile of shutting the stable door after the steed has strayed. Poor fellows! They are afraid, that, in good earnest, they shall be cut off from their resources. Never mind then, my lord, out with it; out with the whole budget. Never stop at a brace of pensioned sisters. Let us have it all. We have, however, quite enough to satisfy us. We have seen the sample, and we reasonably conclude, that the whole sack is of the same quality.——III. Sir Henry Mildmay moved, on the 29th of June, for the laying of his memorial before the House. His speech entire is given in the preceding sheet, and I now insert the memorial entire, wishing to afford him every opportunity of justifying his conduct. But the memorial produces no one alleviating circumstance. The facts, the undeniable facts, remain unshaken.—Why, too, was this memorial delayed until *the 29th of June?* His contempt for the news-papers was not, surely, extended to the board of Commissioners? He says, in a postscript, that the *expenses of the inquest* amounted to £250. For what? For *what*, I ask? Twelve men eat and drink, in one day, £250 worth! This is dear justice indeed. Oh, but his *two counsellors!* Aye, but the public are not to pay for that, I hope, especially as the government sent no one to plead against them? In short, it will not do. The more he struggles, the deeper he gets.——But, why move for the production of the memorial, without moving for some inquiry or discussion upon it? Why leave the matter there? Yet, there might have been incidental discussion, if Sir Henry's name had been put upon the list of the Finance Committee; but, this was prevented by his having modestly requested *that his name might not be put upon it*; though, as my readers will remember, he promised his Portsmouth dinner men, that he and Mr. Chute would be upon the Committee, and would take care to put an end to *peculation* and *jobbing* to the utmost of their power!——The thing must not die, however, especially in Hampshire, where, if we should be so happy as to have another election, the subject will be fully discussed.——IV. India Affairs. I wish, at present, merely to communicate to my readers my suspicion, that a bill, about to be brought in by the new President of the Board of Controul (Lord Melville's son), is intended to make the people of this country answerable for a part, at least, of the East-India Company's enormous debt. I shall return to this subject in my next. In the meanwhile, I hope the public will be upon the watch. ——V. Sierra Leone. Here is another Company, who, having failed in their undertaking, are modest enough to wish to surrender their sovereignty, their territory, into the hands of the king, and to place their debts upon the shoulders of the public. These are the Negro-loving gentlemen, who, in 1802, said, that with a little help, they should civilize the whole continent of Africa. Sixteen thousand pounds was granted them by "the guardians of the public "purse of that day." The same sum has been annually granted since; and, now, behold, a bill is actually before the House for saddling this burthened nation with the whole concern. It will be useful to find out *who* are at the head of this concern. I foretold, in the teeth of the report, what this would come to, in 1802.——VI. The chapter of *jobs* is too long to enter upon here; and, it will, perhaps, come better in company with the remarks upon the reception of Lord Cochrane's motion, for which, at present, I have not room.

MEMORIAL OF SIR HENRY ST. JOHN MILDMAY TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF MILITARY ENQUIRY; LAID BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, UPON HIS MOTION, MADE ON THE 29TH OF JUNE, 1807.

"Gentlemen,——Having seen that several passages in your Fourth Report, which relate to transactions in which I am personally implicated, have been industriously employed for the purpose of casting upon me the imputation of having either received undue favour from the government, or taken undue advantage of the public, I feel myself under the necessity of troubling you with a more detailed explanation, of every particular of those transactions, than my examinations before you (from whom I received no intimation of any such suspicion) were calculated to produce.—About the year 1803, it was thought necessary to raise very extensive fortifications in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, and it was decided, that they should be carried through the park and farm adjoining, and at about 400 yards from a mansion house, in which I was compelled to reside three months in every year. Sir James Craig, who commanded in the district, made an application to me for permission to begin the works without delay; to which I acceded, under an express stipula-

tion, that, when they were complete, I should be entitled to receive compensation for any injury I had sustained. During the period of my residence at Moulsham, these works were constructing; and from the multitude of persons employed in raising them, and the great concourse of military, which the expectation of invasion on the Eastern Coast had assembled in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, my living there with my family had become extremely inconvenient and insecure. I continued however to reside in the house till the inconveniencies arising from the above circumstances became intolerable, and till my property had become exposed to every sort of depredation; footpad robberies were also committed in the very field next adjoining my garden, nine nights out of ten. In addition to these serious inconveniencies, permanent Barracks were erected on each side of my house, at the distance of about half a mile, which rendered it wholly unfit for my family to remain there; I therefore considered I had a claim on the government to relieve me, by law, from a residence, which their own measures, for the public safety, had rendered untenable.—To the application I made to Mr. Addington's government, I received the following letter.——"White-"hall, Nov. 30th, 1803.——Sir,—I have "had the honour of receiving your letter of "the 26th instant, and have made it my "business to see Mr. Addington this day on "the subject; and am directed by him to "acquaint you, that applauding as he does "the liberal manner in which you appear "to be disposed to act towards the public, "if you will have the goodness to direct "your agent to communicate with Mr. Van "sittart, he shall be extremely ready to do "on his part what may be proper to give "effect to your wishes, respecting your fa-"mily seat near Chelmsford, as soon as he "clearly understands what is desired by "you, and in what manner it ought to be "accomplished.——I have the honour to "be, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,— "R. Pole Carew.—To Sir Henry St. John "Mildmay, Bart."——This led to a bill, brought in under the sanction of government, and passed, to relieve me from compulsory residence for four years, and to enable me to let the premises at Moulsham for the same period.——A treaty with government followed, for my house completely furnished, stables, garden, gardener's house, pleasure grounds, and about 16 acres of meadow lands.—This fair overture was, I think, made to Colonel Gordon; by whom I was told that my offer should be communicated to the Barrack Department, who would make a report on the subject. After which I was informed, that a report had been received from the Barrack Department, that government were ready to treat with me; and I was referred to the Secretary at War; on whom I waited immediately, and explained to him my terms, (which I had previously done in writing to Colonel Gordon) for the lease; which Mr. Dundas said must be referred to the Barrack Surveyor, who would be directed to inspect the state of the premises, and to report on my terms, before the agreement could be concluded. Mr. Johnson, a person wholly unknown to me, was sent down to Moulsham for that purpose, without any intimation to me, of the time at which he was to make his survey. This gentleman was unaccompanied and of course uncontrolled by any surveyor, architect, or other person on my behalf. The result of this inspection, (after stating the solidity of the building, and enumerating some trifling repairs which would be wanting) was in these words: "to put the house "into tenantable repair, will cost the sum "of £250; the annual amount will not "exceed £50 to keep them in repair. The "taxes are supposed to amount to £143. "If the said premises are put in proper re-"pair, and to include the 20 acres of plea-"sure ground, &c. round the house, as de-"scribed on the general plan, I am of opi-"nion £400 per annum is a fair rent to "give for the same, after Sir Henry has put "the premises in repair."——J. Johnson, Archt. May 24th, 1804.——On this report being communicated to me by the Secretary at War, I stated, that I was not aware the house required any repair, as a very large sum of money had been recently expended upon it; which was proved in the Committee of the House of Lords; but that I was willing to give up the first half year's rent (amounting to £200) if government would take the repairs on themselves, and make them in whatever manner they thought proper.—On these terms the Secretary at War agreed with me at the rate of £400 a year, for 4 years. Possession of the premises was given to government on the 24th of June, 1804, and they began the repairs immediately. I have in no way whatever interfered since that period, either with the occupation of the house, or with the repairs.—It must be obvious to every one, that when the government were once put in possession of the premises, whether they chuse to use them for the residence of a lieutenant general and his staff, or only for a major general, or whether they thought it adviseable to make

any use of them, was a matter with which I had nothing to do, and for which I cannot be responsible. With respect also to the repairs, I must remark, that having paid £200 according to agreement, I had nothing more to do with the transaction, and whether the money laid out on the premises has either amounted to, or exceeded that sum, I am at this moment wholly ignorant. During the whole of this transaction, I was not aware that any part of the arrangement was a matter of consideration for the Treasury; and I had at no time during its progress any communication on the subject directly or indirectly, to the best of my knowledge and belief, with any person connected with that department. I have already stated, that government took possession of the premises at Moulsham Hall, and the land let with it, on the 24th June, 1804. On the 6th of August following (the military works in my park being nearly completed) a precept was signed by Sir James Craig: in consequence of which, a special jury, composed of the most respectable gentlemen and magistrates in the county of Essex, (General Strutt being foreman) was impanelled in the Mansion House on the 18th of the same month. Government had then been about eight weeks in full possession of it, with the other premises, and they had made considerable progress in the repairs, and it was notorious to all the country, that an agreement had been entered into between government and myself, which had placed the house in the hands of the Barrack Office.—The jury examined the evidence, took a very minute and accurate survey and view of the military works, and the damages; and after being shut up for more than two hours, made the following award, as stated in the report page 164:——

"One thousand three hundred pounds to "be paid for the use and possession of the "lands (stated to contain 30 acres, 1 rood, "39 poles, in the occupation of Thomas "Chandler and Wm. Meyhill, as tenants to "Sir Henry Mildmay, but then occupied "by the military works) from Michaelmas "1803 to Michaelmas 1804, and from that "time £600 a year so long as the same "should be in the possession of his Majes-"ty."——There is nothing in this verdict which by any possible construction can have reference to the contract, which I had entered into with government, for the lease of my house, furniture, stables, garden, gardener's house, &c. I can neither conceive that this verdict precluded me from residence in the house, if I had thought proper; from pulling it down; from letting it to any individual, or to the government; or interferes with any disposition of it, which I may judge it prudent to make.—It is not possible that it could be considered, that the letting of my house for four years only, at £400 per annum, ready furnished, could be a compensation for the use of the land covered by the military works, and for the injury my house and estate must sustain, so long as those works should be continued; for it must be observed, that the contract for the house terminates in June, 1808, but there is no limit within my choice as to the occupation of the ground for the military works. Government may keep it as long as they please. The verdict confines itself strictly to 30 acres of land, which is particularly described to be in the occupation of Thomas Chandler and Wm. Meyhill, and which is stated to be covered by the field works. If the jury had intended to include the rent of the house, furniture, &c. in their verdict, they would have expressed such intention distinctly; on the contrary, they have stated their precise meaning to be otherwise, by defining the lands, as those alone occupied by the military works, containing 30 A. 1 R. 39 P. in the occupation of Chandler and Meyhill. The premises let with the house, amount to about 20 acres, and the lands occupied by the military works, 30 acres. Had the jury intended to include both in their verdict, they would have stated 50 acres, and not 30. The lands let with the house were never in the occupation of Thomas Chandler and William Meyhill, nor were any part of them used for the military works. It is therefore most obvious, that the jury did not mean to include them in their verdict, or to meddle in any way (as indeed I understood afterwards) with any disposition, or any purpose, to which I might convert the use of the house and furniture and premises. This construction of the verdict of 12 of most respectable gentlemen, cannot be a wrong one.—I will only further remark, that by a reference to various transactions of a similar nature, as well between individuals, as where the public has been a party, it will be found, the compensation which I have received, under all circumstances, has not been beyond that which has been customarily given.—On the amount of the rent which I receive for the house, &c. from the public, I must beg leave to say, that having expended £200 on repairs, which I did not deem necessary, my receipt is reduced to £350. The land occupied with the house, garden, gardener's house, &c. cannot be valued at less than £60 a year. The furniture of a house containing 14 rooms on a floor, one of them 50 feet long, can be estimated at no inconsider-

able sum, and a fair rent put upon it, added to the above-mentioned value of the land, must very considerably reduce my annual clear profit from the lease of the house.—One point more which it is my wish to impress upon the minds of the commissioners is, that the property which has devolved to me in Essex, I possess only during the life of my wife; and that the next person in succession (my own property and residence being otherwise entailed) will have no other place of residence, where the bulk of his property is situated, and be reduced to reside in a rented house, in consequence of the military works at Chelmsford.—Having by this plain statement vindicated myself, I hope, from the imputations, of which I have so much reason to complain; having, I trust, made it manifest that I have acted with perfect fairness to the public, the original occupation of the land having taken place under an administration to which I was politically opposed, and the offer of my house made to the same administration; it remains for me only to observe further, that having made the whole of this statement (after the lapse of four years) chiefly from recollection, and with few documents to refer to, it may be possible that in some trifling instances I may have been inaccurate; particularly, as, much of these transactions passed through the hands of agents. Where any such inaccuracy may appear, I am persuaded that I shall meet with a favourable construction.——I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient, very humble servant,——(Signed) H. P. S. MILDMAY. *June 29th*, 1807.——I beg leave to observe farther, that the expences attending the inquest, amounting to £250 were paid by me, and are included in the £1,300 awarded by the jury for the first year.——(Signed) H. P. S. MILDMAY.——*A true copy*, J. DRINKWATER, GILES TEMPLEMAN, HENRY PETERS, CHARLES BOSANQUET, B. C. STEPHENSON.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF HAYTI.—The undersigned mandatories, charged with the powers of the people of Hayti, being legally convoked by his excellency the general-in-chief of the army, penetrated by the necessity of making their constituents enjoy the sacred, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights of man, proclaim, in the presence and under the auspices of the All Powerfull, the Articles contained in the present Constitutional Pact:

Title I. Of the condition of citizens.—1. Every body residing on the territory of Hayti is free, in the fullest sense.—2. Slavery is for ever abolished in Hayti.—3. No one has a right to violate the asylum of a citizen, nor to enter forcibly into his dwelling, without an order, emanating from a superior and competent authority.—4. All property is under the protection of the government. Every attack upon the property of a citizen is a crime, which the law punishes.—5. The law punishes assassination with death.

Title II. Of the government.——6. The government of Hayti is composed; First, of a Chief Magistrate, who takes the title and quality of President and Generalissimo of the Forces of Hayti, both by land and sea: every other denomination is for ever proscribed in Hayti. Secondly, of a Council of State.—The Government of Hayti takes the title, and will be known by the denomination of "The State of Hayti."—7. The Constitution names the General in Chief, Henry Christophe, President and Generalissimo of the Forces, both by land and sea, of the State of Hayti.—8. The trust of President and Generalissimo of the Forces is for life.——9. The President has the right to choose his successor, but only from among the Generals, and in the manner hereafter prescribed. This choice must be secret and contained in a sealed packet, which shall be opened only by the Council of State, solemnly assembled for that purpose. The President shall take all necessary precautions for informing the Council of State where this packet shall be deposited.—10. The armed force shall be under the direction of the President, as also the administration of the finances.—11. The President has the power to make treaties with foreign nations, as well for the purpose of establishing commercial relations as to secure the independence of the state.—12. He is to conclude peace, and to declare war, to maintain the rights of the people of Hayti. —13. He has also the right to consider of the means of favouring, and increasing the population of the country.—14. He is to propose the laws to the Council of State, who after having adopted them, and drawn them up, send them back to him, for his sanction, without which they cannot be executed —15. The appointments of the President are fixed at 40,000 dollars a year.

Title III. Of the Council of State.——16. The Council of State is composed of nine members, nominated by the President, of which, at least, two thirds are to be generals.—17. The functions of the Council of State, are to receive the propositions of laws from the President, and to draw them up in the manner they may judge adviseable; to

fix the amount of taxes, and the mode of collecting them; to sanction the treaties concluded by the President, and to fix upon the mode for recruiting the army. An account shall be presented to them annually, of the receipts and expenses, and of the resources of the country.—[The fourth, fifth, and sixth heads respect the appointment of a Superintendant General of the Finances, the Marine, and the Interior, and also the appointment of a Secretary of State, and the Tribunals.]

Title VII. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the only one acknowledged by the government.——The exercise of other religions is tolerated, but not publicly.

Title VIII. Public Education.—There shall be established a central school in each division, and particular schools in each subdivision.

Title IX. Of the Guarantee of the neighbouring Colonies.——The government of Hayti declares to those powers who have colonies in its neighbourhood, its fixed determination to give no disturbance to the government of these colonies.—The people of Hayti make no conquests out of their own island, and confine themselves to the preservation of their own territory.—[After those nine heads, there follow some general regulations, the principal of which are: that every Haytian, from 16 to 50, can be called into the army, whenever the safety of the state requires it: that the government solemnly guarantees the foreign merchants the security of their persons and properties: divorce is strictly forbidden in Hayti; and agriculture, which is declared the most ancient, the most noble, and the most useful of all the arts, is to be encouraged and protected.]

Proclamation.—Henry Christophe, President and Generalissimo of the Military and Naval Forces of the State of Hayti, to the Army and People.

The light has broken in upon us, and a beneficent constitution has put an end to the plots and machinations, of which you were on the point of becoming victims. A wise code, adapted to our manners, our climate, and our customs, has sprung, as it may be said, out of chaos, and fixed once more the destinies of Hayti.——Long had I in vain sought to present you with this precious gift: in vain did I assemble the districts, and urge them to send deputies to Port-au-Prince, to give you a constitution. My anxiety, instead of being followed with the desired success, only operated as an additional incitement to the factious, to pervert the public opinion, and to establish a constitution favourable to their interests, and those of their adherents; but as hostile to the liberty of the people, as it was to the principles of sound reason. ——Fellow-Citizens, you have all been witnesses to the purity of my views, and the sincerity of my intentions. You know how this sincerity has been abused, by the miscreants who fomented revolt, and kindled civil war. Their efforts never intimidated me for a single moment, or diverted me from my design of serving my country. By night or by day I have never ceased to occupy myself in providing for the public safety. What have I not done to effect it? What have I not suffered in counteracting the secret wiles and plots of the factious?—I have always been in the midst of you, and you can say whether my conduct has ever been influenced, or my honour tarnished, by ambition. Invested with the supreme power, this day, by the wish of my fellow-citizens and my companions in arms, I have yielded to their desires: and I have consented to bear this weighty but honourable burden, because it was their wish that it should be entrusted to my hands, and because I am willing again to serve my country. Happy shall I be if my efforts are crowned with success, and if they tend to the happiness of my fellow-citizens! —But, to attain this, my efforts alone will not be sufficient! The laws and constitution which have just been presented to you must be observed. It provides for the religious preservation of your rights; it secures to every citizen his personal liberty, his right of property, and that of his family.——The fatal consequences of the wars in which we have been engaged, and still more the immoral example held out to us by the French, had almost destroyed every principle of religion. The moral system was publicly laughed at, and a corrupted youth abandoned itself, without remorse, to all the licentiousness of its age; public education was degraded, and confided to mercenary instructors. It was necessary to restore to religion its dignity—to cause it to be respected and cherished. It was necessary to revive morality, to give it due distinction; to inculcate into the minds of youth its sacred principles, and those of honour also; in short, to convince the people, that without religion and morality, human society could not exist.—Your interests will be secured to you by proper tribunals: the judgments pronounced by their ministers will be dictated by equity and justice. It remains for the people of Hayti to make themselves distinguished by their probity and good faith. Essentially a trading country, as well from its situation as the nature

of the commodities it produced, it is necessary that it should attract the merchants of every country on the globe, both by its equity and its produce.—Trade being the source of all our wealth, it is important that the foreign merchants who frequent our ports, should be equally protected with our fellow-citizens: and that they should receive all the hospitality due to this useful class of society.—To feed this trade—to give it a new spring—agriculture must be prosecuted with perseverance and vigour. Placed under the finest climate of the world, favoured by nature with her most precious gifts, even to profusion, the husbandman has not at Hayti to contend with the rigour of a frozen clime, or to fortify himself against the inclemencies of the seasons. A little labour is sufficient to enrich him, and to place him on a level with the manufacturers of other countries. Exert yourselves, then, industrious cultivators, to fill your warehouses with the produce of our fertile soil. Display to the eyes of the merchants of Europe all that can tempt their desires, and you will soon see your trade flourish much above your most sanguine expectations.—After having re-established religion, defeated morality, restored manners, and encouraged agriculture and trade, we shall have still great labours to encounter. We must not neglect the use of arms. The enemy watches our movements, and observes our proceedings. We have as yet no guarantee of the affection of our friends. We must bind the latter to us by treaties; we must be ready to meet the former in the field. Abandoned to ourselves, our resources are in ourselves. They are in you, soldiers, who are ready generously to spill your blood sooner than yield to a haughty enemy your liberty, which is the reward of your courage! They are in you, inhabitants and industrious cultivators, from whom the state derives its wealth! It is your union, your submission to the laws, which are to be the cement and bond of our independence.—The line of politics which foreign powers will pursue with respect to us is not yet manifest: whatever it may be, let us place ourselves in such a situation, that without holding out any defiance to them, we may, at the same time, have nothing to dread from those who may entertain hostile intentions.—Let those who wish a political connection with us, or who would wish to enjoy the advantage of our commerce, find an equitable reciprocity. To the rest, let us only offer death and battle.—At the same time that we are occupied with these thoughts, let us never forget, that the safety of a free people is best maintained by arms. Its cultivation employs a part of our fellow-citizens; let us remember that we are all soldiers, and that it is warlike nations alone who have been able to preserve their liberty. Let us call to mind that a handful of Greeks, devoted to their country, confounded the rage of a million of barbarians, who endeavoured to wrest from them their liberty. Let us swear to imitate their example: let us swear to observe our sacred constitution, to cause it to be observed, and to perish sooner than allow it to be violated in the smallest degree. Published at the head-quarters at the Cape, February 17, 1807. Henry Christophe, President. Rouanez, Secretary of State.

Continental War.——*Sixty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Liebstadt, Feb. 21.——The right of the grand army has been victorious, like the centre and the left. Gen. Essen, at the head of 25,000 men, advanced to Ostrolenka on the 15th, along the two banks of the Narew; when arrived at the village of Flacis Lawowa, he met the advanced guard of Gen. Savary, who commanded the 5th corps.—On the 16th, at break of day, Gen. Gazan, with a part of his division, made an oblique movement upon the advanced guard. At nine in the morning he met the enemy, on the road to Novogorod, attacked, defeated, and put him to the rout. But at the same moment the enemy attacked Ostrolenka, by the left bank. Gen. Campana, with a brigade of the division of Gen Gazan, and Gen. Ruffin, with a brigade of the division of Gen. Oudinot, defended that small town. Gen. Savary sent thither the Gen. of Division Reille, chief of the staff of the army. The Russian infantry, in several columns, endeavoured to carry the town. The enemy was suffered to advance half the length of the streets, when he was marched against and charged. He was three times cut down, and left the streets covered with the dead. The loss of the enemy was so great, that he abandoned the town, and took a position behind the sand-hills which cover it.—The divisions of Generals Suchet and Oudinot advanced: at noon the heads of their columns arrived at Ostrolenka. Gen. Savary drew up his little army in the following manner: Gen. Oudinot commanded the left in two lines; Gen. Suchette the centre; and Gen. Reille, commanding a brigade of the division of Gazan, formed the right. He covered himself with all his artillery, and marched against the enemy. The intrepid Gen. Oudinot put himself at the head of the cavalry, made a successful charge, and cut in pieces

the Cossacks of the rear guard of the enemy. The fire was very brisk; the enemy gave way on all sides, and was followed fighting during three leagues.— The next day the enemy was pursued several leagues but without being perceived. His cavalry had retreated the whole night. General Suwarrow and several other officers of the enemy are among the slain. The enemy has abandoned a great number of wounded, 1200 have been taken off the field, and more are bringing in every instant. Seven pieces of cannon and two standards are the trophies of this victory. The enemy has left 1300 dead on the field of battle. On our side we have had 60 men killed, and from 4 to 500 wounded. But a loss most sensibly felt is that of the General of Brigade, Campana, who was an officer of great merit and promise: he was born in the department of Marengo. The Emperor has been much grieved at his loss. The 103d regiment distinguished itself particularly in this affair. Among the wounded are Col. Du Hamel, of the 21st regiment of light infantry; and the Colonel of artillery, Nourrist.——The Emperor has ordered the 5th corps to go into winter quarters. The thaw is dreadful. The season will not permit any thing great to be atchieved; it is that of repose. The enemy first broke up from his quarters; he has repented it.

63d Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Osterode, Feb. 28, 1807.——Captain Auzoni, of the Imperial Horse Guards, mortally wounded in the battle of Eylau, was lying upon the field of battle. His comrades came to take him up, and carry him to the hospital. He recovered his senses only to say to them: 'Let me alone, my friends; I die contented, since we have gained the day, and that I can die upon the bed of honour, surrounded by the cannons taken from the enemy, and the wrecks of their defeat. Tell the Emperor that I have but one regret: which is, that in a few moments I shall be no longer able to do any thing for his service, and the glory of our fine France—to her my last breath—.' The effort he made to utter these words, exhausted the little strength he had remaining.—— All the reports we receive, agree in stating that the enemy lost at the battle of Eylau, 20 generals, and 900 officers killed and wounded, and upwards of 30,000 men disabled.— At the engagement of Ostrolenska, of the 16th, two Russian generals were killed and three wounded.——His Majesty has sent to Paris the sixteen stands of colours taken at the battle of Eylau. All the cannon are already sent off to Thorn. His Majesty has ordered that these cannon shall be melted down, and made into a brazen statue of Gen. Hautpoult, commander of the 2d division of cuirassiers, in his uniform of cuirassier.—— The army is concentrated in its cantonments behind the Passarge, with its left supported by Marienwerder, the island of Nogat, and Elbing, countries which afford resources.— Being informed that a Russian division had marched towards Braunsberg, at the head of our cantonments, the Emperor ordered it to be attacked. The Prince of Ponte Corvo assigned this expedition to Gen. Dupont, an officer of great merit. On the 26th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, General Dupont presented himself before Braunsberg, attacked the enemy's division, 10,000 strong, overthrew it with fixed bayonets, drove it from the town, and made it recross the Passarge, took from it 16 pieces of cannon, two stands of colours, and made 2000 prisoners. We had very few men killed.—On the side of Gustadt, General Leger-Belair repaired to the village of Peterswade, at day break on the 25th, upon receiving advice that a Russian column had arrived, during the night, at that village, overthrew it, took the General Baron de Korff, who commanded it, his staff, several Lieutenant-Colonels and Officers, and 400 men. This brigade was composed of ten battalion, which had suffered so much, that they formed only 1600 men under arms.—The Emperor, in testimony of his satisfaction to Gen. Savary for the engagement of Ostrolenka, has granted him the grand insignia of the Legion of Honour, and called him about his person. His Majesty has given the command of the 5th corps to Marshal Massena, Marshal Lannes continuing to be sick.—At the battle of Eylau, Marshal Augereau, overrun with rheumatic pains, was sick and hardly in his senses; but the cannon awakes the brave: he flew in full gallop to the head of his corps, after getting himself tied upon his horse. He was constantly exposed to the greatest fire, and was even slightly wounded. The Emperor has just ordered him to return to France, for the purpose of taking care of his health. The garrisons of Colberg and Dantzick, availing themselves of the little attention paid them, had encouraged themselves by different excursions. An advanced post of the Italian division was attacked on the 16th, at Stargard, by a party of 800 men of the garrison of Colberg.

To be continued.

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